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The Christian News-Letter

Edited by KATHLEEN BLISS

27th November, 1946

THE EDITOR is paying a short visit to the United States, from which the News-Letter will benefit in the weeks to come. She is the guest in America of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ and of the United Council of Church Women, and has been invited to take part in their annual gatherings. She is expected back in this country in the second week of December.

NEWS-LETTER

UNESCO

SUPPLEMENT

CAN DEMOCRACY SURVIVE?

J. MIDDLETON MURRY

UNESCO

The Conference of UNESCO or the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, now meeting in Paris, deserves the special attention of readers of the Christian News-Letter.[1] Its province, more than that of any other organization of the United Nations, is one in which Christian interests are directly and closely involved. The delegations of the member states include leaders of the arts, sciences, cultural and educational activities of their respective nations. It may in time become the most distinguished deliberative body in the world, drawing to itself the most eminent and influential intellectual leaders of all countries. It is asking for a substantial budget. Its influence on the ideas and educational policies of governments may in the end of the day be immense.

[1] The Constitution of UNESCO is published by H.M. Stationery Office (Cmd. 6711). Price 6d.

UNESCO AND F.A.O.

A parallel may be drawn between the aims of UNESCO and those of the Food and Agricultural Organization, set up at the Hot Springs Conference in 1943, out of which has come the proposal for a World Food Board. The object of the latter is to combat hunger and poverty throughout the world. The task of UNESCO may be regarded, in at least one of its aspects, as an attempt to combat mental poverty and spiritual hunger over the same wide field.

The task of the Food and Agricultural Organization can be divided into three parts—first, agreement regarding what constitutes a healthy diet; secondly, the discovery of ways in which the agricultural systems of the different countries can be adapted to produce more food of the right kinds; and thirdly, the devising of means to bring the food thus produced within the reach of those who need it. The essential problems are those of the right diet, production and distribution.

The problems of UNESCO are on a first view of a similar kind. But no great reflection is needed to reveal a radical and far-reaching difference. Whereas the knowledge of the requirements of the human body has reached a point which enables nutritional experts to agree about what constitutes a healthy diet, the question of the right diet for the mind and soul is one about which the vast majority of men are completely at sea or in violent disagreement. It is natural to ask, therefore, whether in this anarchy of opinion about ultimate aims UNESCO is not doomed to failure from the start and had better be scrapped.

In particular, the question has to be asked what attitude Christians ought to adopt to this new undertaking. Ought they to fight it, or to stand aloof, or to jump in and help?

PRACTICAL TASKS

It may be agreed that there are, within certain limits, generally acceptable educational services which a body like UNESCO can render. The supply of pencils for schools, where these are lacking, is not a question about which well-meaning people are likely to differ. Relief and rehabilitation

in the educational and cultural sphere in countries devastated by war must command universal assent. About the desirability of the restoration and equipment of libraries and museums there will be no dispute. The overcoming of illiteracy is a necessary stage in human growth. It is a task to which the missionary societies have devoted themselves for a long period with remarkable energy and notable success. A hearty welcome must be given to the factual and critical survey of the methods used in different countries in campaigns of mass education on which the Preparatory Commission of UNESCO has been engaged. A host of practical tasks of this nature is likely to absorb the main energies of UNESCO in the early years.

It may well be the wise course to concentrate at the beginning on these practical tasks. The fundamental religious issues that underlie all education and culture can be faced with greater hope of mutual understanding, when the members of UNESCO have come to know one another, and have formed bonds through sharing in common activities.

ULTIMATE AIMS

But it would be a very superficial view of the problems of UNESCO to regard these questions of the ultimate aims of education and of the relations between different cultures as of anything less than decisive importance. The value of many forms of practical skill and of an elementary knowledge of the world in which man has to live is as undeniable as the need for proper nourishment, but no profound view of human life has ever supposed that it is in these things that the real significance of man's life is found. UNESCO will have sooner or later to face the questions about the fundamental purpose of education which are being asked with growing persistence by serious minds to-day. At these deeper levels the analogy with bodily diet breaks down, and the idea of a spiritual pabulum to be distributed by UNESCO becomes dangerously misleading.

We recommend all who can buy or borrow a copy of a small book *Democracy*: *Should it Survive*?[1] to read what

[1] Dennis Dobson, 7s. 6d.

Walter Lippmann has to say on this subject in a short but arresting essay. He lays down and defends the thesis that the prevailing education in western countries is destined, if it continues, to destroy western civilization, and is in fact destroying it ; and that, consequently, what is now required is not an expansion of its facilities but a thorough reconsideration of its underlying assumptions and of its purposes. The voice of an eminent humanist may, perhaps, find an entrance into minds firmly closed against anything that comes from a Christian source.

It must be frankly recognized that among those who will participate in the work of UNESCO there is a deep cleavage—the most fundamental and most important of all the differences that divide men from one another. There are, on the one hand, those who believe that, while men have an inescapable responsibility for directing the course both of their individual lives and of society, it is God who in the last resort determines the course of events and that, however carefully men plan, God may cause their plans to turn out otherwise than they expect. There are, on the other hand, those who believe that, while men's ideas are in the last resort the product of their material circumstances, they are able, within limits, to direct the course of history and that, in so far as there is planning, the sole planner is man. It is idle to hope that these profound differences will be easily or quickly resolved.

CAN THERE BE A UNIFYING PURPOSE

Need we then despair of UNESCO ever being able to find a unifying purpose for its varied activities, to lead the world out of its particularisms and specialisms and to bring about some measure of moral and intellectual solidarity among mankind? The answer surely is both Yes, and No. Life is inexhaustible in its possibilities, and when a tentative harmony of ideas and purposes has been reached, irrepressible forces begin to break it up and give rise to new oppositions which have to be reconciled. But that does not mean that no harmonies, no working agreements over a limited range—on the question for example of elementary

human rights—are attainable. Indeed we now know that some kind of harmony *must* be achieved if mankind is to survive. UNESCO can at least contribute to the necessary preliminary task of helping mankind to reach a deeper common understanding of its actual predicament and real problems.[1]

CHRISTIANS AND UNESCO

What should be the attitude of Christians to this far-reaching experiment? Of the three choices, suggested earlier, we plump for the third, that Christians should jump in and help. If they fail to do this the control will pass inevitably into the hands of energetic people who have no such hesitation. An organization of this kind is in the long run going to be managed by the people who back it with most energy from the start. The Church has too often stood aside from new movements and thereby lost ground that cannot be recovered later.

If this is agreed, the question arises in what ways the Churches can best play their part in the activities of UNESCO. It is held by some that the Churches as such should be officially represented in the organization. There is undoubtedly a tendency in many quarters to underestimate the cultural influence of the Christian Church not only in the past but in the present. The activity of the Churches in the maintenance of colleges and schools, in many forms of educational effort and of service to youth is, not only in Europe and America, but in Asia and Africa, immense.

There are, however, great practical difficulties in the direct representation of religious bodies in an organization based on the membership of States, and there is much to be said for the view that the influence of the Churches can be most effectively exerted through individual Christians, lay or clerical, appointed by their governments on the ground of their competence in the matters with which UNESCO is concerned. Christians appointed in this way for their capacity to contribute to the work in hand would not be

[1] Cf. the quotation from the Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset in C.N-L. No. 272.

suspected, as official spokesmen of the Church would be, of having an axe to grind unrelated to the subject under discussion. It is the business of the Churches to interest themselves so actively in the work of UNESCO that Christians will in the natural process of selection obtain appointment to the General Conference, the Executive Board, the Secretariat and the national commissions of co-operating bodies (of which in Great Britain there will be seven) that are being set up in the various countries.

FREE AND OPEN ENCOUNTER

If Christians are to play their part in UNESCO they must be clear about what they want. To jump in and help does not mean that they should back whatever policy UNESCO may choose to adopt. It may mean to jump in and fight.

We need to be on our guard against apparent concessions to the religious point of view which are in fact quite unimportant. Provision for the academic study of religion, for example, while not without value in itself, is an evasion of the real issue. A live religion does not offer itself as an object for man's scrutiny but confronts him with an inexorable demand. That is the issue on which there can be no compromise. At this point the religious and secular views are in irreconcilable conflict.

It would be quite unrealistic for Christians to expect that the activities of UNESCO can be developed on explicitly Christian foundations. What Christians have to seek is that questions should not be foreclosed against them, and that there should be freedom of opportunity for them to express their faith in free encounter with rival views of life. Vigilance is needed against the surreptitious introduction of a non-Christian ideology. No hard and fast line can be drawn between practical activities and the beliefs by which they are, consciously or unconsciously, inspired. It would be folly in the present state of opinion in the world to shut our eyes to the danger that what appear on the surface to be purely practical tasks may be conducted on assumptions that are a denial of the Christian view of the world. The problem

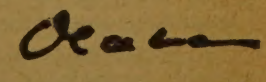
of UNESCO is the same as that of the university in modern society, which was described at the end of C.N-L. No. 272. The point to which the whole strength of Christian effort needs to be directed is that there should be freedom in UNESCO for the ultimate questions of human life and destiny to be fearlessly faced and freely discussed.[1] Such frank discussion between those who hold diametrically opposed views may result in a creative and fruitful interchange of ideas, and bring about a growing mutual understanding that will greatly further practical collaboration.

The aim of Christians who take part in the activities of UNESCO is not to demand any explicit recognition or adoption of the Christian standpoint, but to resist the imposition, directly or indirectly, of any particular ideology on those activities, to drag into the open all unexamined assumptions and to secure a fair field for all honest convictions to engage in open encounter with one another.

THE SUPPLEMENT

Mr. Middleton Murry's Supplement focuses attention on the main issues which modern society has to face. We hope that it may lead to fruitful discussion. Mr. Murry is known to a wide constituency by his many books, the latest of which, *Adam and Eve*[2] was the subject of a Supplement (C.N-L. No. 223), and by his broadcast talks. Among the many journals which come under my notice there is none which I open with greater eagerness or from which I derive greater stimulus than his paper *The Adelphi*.[3] There are always at least two or three articles that I want to read a second time.

Yours sincerely



[1] We may apply to UNESCO what A. R. Vidler says in the pamphlet quoted in C.N-L. No. 272 in regard to the universities, that what we need in the circumstances of to-day is non-Christian or neutral universities, and that, consequently, Christians have the paradoxical responsibility of *preventing* the universities from professing Christianity.

[2] Andrew Dakers. 10s. 6d.

[3] Quarterly. Annual subscription 10s. Lodge Farm, Thelnetham, via Diss, Norfolk.

CAN DEMOCRACY SURVIVE?

By J. MIDDLETON MURRY

I. THE GENERAL PROBLEM OF DEMOCRACY

THE major politico-social issue of the present time is whether democracy can survive. The term needs *some* definition; but not too much (for we easily glide into a position in which the problems lose their urgency by excess of definition).

Democracy is a form of society in which (1) an alternative government is always available and can be placed in power if a majority of citizens support it, (2) no government possesses uncontrolled power, because certain fundamental liberties of the individual are regarded as sacrosanct—freedom of speech and writing, of association, freedom from imprisonment except after open trial in accordance with acknowledged law. These liberties are the necessary condition of (1) being a workable system of government.

A good society is one which aims at securing to the citizen the maximum of freedom compatible with the attainment of a maximum of freedom by his fellow-citizens. Democracy is, or has been hitherto, a tried method of securing, by gradual adjustment, this end.

Why is democracy to-day under suspicion?

First, because of its failure to produce governments capable of governing. This was because large sections of the people in various European countries were prepared to challenge their democratic government by overt violence.

Second, because of the influence of the Russian Revolution, of which the crucial event was the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly by violence, in the name of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Democracy was thus given a bad name as "counter-revolutionary". This propaganda was exploited to the full in the between-war period, e.g. Social Democrats were denounced by Moscow as "social fascists"; and Communists everywhere applied themselves to discrediting democracy and organizing violent opposition to democratic governments.

In consequence, democracy, having been overthrown in Russia by Communism (1917) was subsequently overthrown by Fascism in Italy, Germany and Spain, and nearly overthrown in France.

But this explanation is purely political and inadequate unless it is added that unprecedented strains were thrown upon the machinery of democratic government by exceptionally severe economic crises with which democracy was unable to cope. Only two solutions of the characteristic crisis of capitalism—which is over-production—have, so far, been found in practice. They are a fully regimented state-socialism, or deliberate over-production (for war) financed by the state. The citizens of a democracy are loth to adopt either.

In such a situation the anti-democrats have a distinct advantage. Democracy is hesitant—reluctant to carry through a complete state-socialism, or to introduce a war-economy. The anti-democrats are eager to do both : as in fact both the Communists and the Fascists did.

II. THE PECULIARITIES OF THE BRITISH SITUATION

Now the war has temporarily solved the crisis of over-production by wholesale destruction. In Europe there is an absolute dearth of goods, even of the primary materials which provide the energy for the production of goods (food for the human, coal for the power, machine).

Democracy, where it continues to exist in Europe, has thus been momentarily relieved of the most dangerous strain upon it. But a different strain is already apparent.

Europe has moved towards socialism : " to the Left " as it is said, more vaguely yet more accurately. That does not mean that the old capitalist method of securing production has been deliberately rejected. The leftward movement is more incoherent than that. In the main it is a demand of the industrial workers in Western Europe for greater security, which involves a much greater control of production by the state. It is important to remember that in this sense Nazism itself was a leftward movement. The leftward movement in Europe represents an elemental urge that underlies the dramatic antithesis of recent history.

This movement towards "socialism" is not only elemental but rational. The abolition of social insecurity, poverty and unemployment at which it aims is the obvious corollary of the huge increase in productive capacity due to the development of the machine. The distinctive form in which democracy seeks to realize this aim is "a centrally planned economy *without compulsory direction* of labour" (Cripps). That definitely distinguishes Democratic Socialism from Communism or Fascism. Britain is relatively well placed for the attempt. But it is more difficult than is sometimes realized.

The root of the difficulty is the change-over from one social incentive to another. It must (I think) be admitted that the profit-motive of capitalism is more in accord with the general ethos of democracy than any other. Fundamental to historical democracy is a certain "rugged individualism", which finds natural expression in the individual "free enterprise" beloved of apologists for capitalism. Capitalism and democracy developed as complementary economic and political systems. It will be difficult to dissociate them.

This difficulty becomes more apparent when we soberly contemplate the alternative which is proposed—a society of full employment, social security, educational equality. In such a society the social incentive traditional in democracy is largely abolished: men, in capitalist democracy, worked hard in order (among other things) (1) not to lose their jobs, (2) to save against the "rainy day" and, (3) to give their children educational opportunities. When none of these traditional motives is operative, it is only human that there should be a falling-off in production. This tendency has had to be checked by stern measures in Russia: (*a*) by compulsion of labour, under extremely severe penalties, (*b*) by the introduction of highly differentiated rewards, (*c*) by the reinstatement of educational inequality. Even so, experts are doubtful whether average productivity in U.S.S.R., even in those fields where mechanical equipment is roughly equal, is as much as 50 per cent. of what it is in U.S.A.

If compulsion of labour, highly differentiated rewards, and educational inequality are to be ruled out by the British scheme of democratic socialism, what will remain as a spur to produc-

tivity? In the main, only a sense of duty towards the whole of society. But this is a rather rare phenomenon, operative only in an élite. For the mass the whole of society is an abstract and remote conception, that does not arouse loyalty to the degree required.

I incline, therefore, to believe that the present British experiment is more insecure than its proponents are aware, and that there is a real danger of democratic socialism failing, simply by reason of the inability of a socialist government to impose discipline upon Labour by democratic means, i.e. by any measures which will command the approval of the majority. Ultimately (it seems) the indispensable condition of successful democratic socialism is that labour should be willing to discipline itself.

In the long run, this appears to me to be possible only in some such system as "guild-socialism", and that the choice lies ultimately between that (which would be genuine self-discipline) and the pseudo-self-discipline of a strict communist "dictatorship of the proletariat". Having regard to the deep-rooted individualism of the British, I think the latter would be exceedingly hard to establish: much harder than it would be to make "guild socialism" a success (though that is certainly not easy).

Moreover, the problem of declining productivity owing to the abolition of familiar social incentives is made more acute by the steady increase in the amount of potentially productive labour spent on tasks that are essentially non-productive. As a man who conducts what is in effect a small business—farming 200 acres—I am deeply impressed by the amount of time my colleagues and I have to spend in making applications for licences, and returns of all sorts; and I cannot help feeling that the total amount of potentially productive labour of the nation spent on such tasks is really disproportionate and wrong,—that bureaucracy is choking creativity.

The remedy for this threatened atrophy of democratic socialism lies (it seems) in the progressive decentralization both of democracy and socialism. That is already implicit in the indication of guild socialism as the alternative to strict communism.

That is the more sombre side of the picture. It is time to count our blessings.

By far the chief of these is that the institution of Parliament has emerged from the stress of war with undiminished authority; it is neither insecure, as in France, nor, as in America, irresponsible. This means, on the one hand, that the experiment in socialism is controlled by the presence of an alternative government, and on the other that, if and when a change of government takes place, those parts of the socialist experiment which have proved to be workable will have to come to be accepted as part of the existing order.

A difficult situation, however, would arise if the Labour government becomes unpopular because of a failure in production (e.g. if coal production falls so low that factories can only work part-time, or if housing is so dilatory that young men and women are unable to marry). We might then have a situation in which a Conservative government was returned to office, yet quite unable to do anything effective. For, if a Labour government, supported by the Trade Unions, cannot elicit self-discipline from the workers, could a Conservative government hope to do so?

In such a situation parliamentary government might be paralysed by the conflict between the political will of the majority and the industrial self-will of the manual workers. The Communists would eagerly exploit such a situation, which would give the long-awaited opportunity of splitting the Labour Party, by deepening the cleavage which would manifest itself between the political and responsible section and the industrial and irresponsible section of the Labour movement.

That is, no doubt, anticipating trouble; but it serves to reinforce our former contention that the crux of the domestic situation is labour's capacity for self-discipline. The obvious way to increase this is by taking the workers' representatives into full and responsible partnership on the job, in the factories, etc. There is, of course, the danger that this may become a conspiracy to exploit the consumer; but there is a still greater danger of this where industries are directly nationalized, for in that case (e.g. coal) there is no check at all on the price of the commodity to the consumer. Nationalization is a deceptive word; *ipso facto*, nationalization creates sectional monopoly.

So, no doubt, does cartelization. And nationalization is overt monopoly, where cartelization is concealed. But either form of economic organization lends itself to anti-social abuse, whereby any given industry extorts more than its fair share of the real income of the nation.

Here (I think) we come to the economic crux of democracy. Has democratic socialism any real substitute for the objective fixing of prices by the free market? The answer is: at present none. Prices are indeed controlled, but by diverse and contradictory principles. In the case of coal, cost-plus is charged directly to the consumer; in the case of farm produce, the consumer is directly subsidized, and prices have no direct relation of any kind to costs. This diversity creates a world of economic illusion, in which both true economic planning and the development of a widespread social awareness are extremely difficult.

The only way (it seems) to bring order into this chaos is by fixing a standard wage and a standard price for every basic industry, and maintaining a heavy income-tax, to soak up a large part of the dividends distributed or the profits made by the more than averagely efficient producers of all kinds.

But I am too ignorant of economics to propose a solution with any confidence. I will confine myself to those conclusions of my own inquiry which (I think) I understand. They are that the future viability of democracy depends in the first instance (1) on the capacity of labour to discipline itself, by working reasonably hard on the job. (Lewis Mumford says that a bricklayer in U.S.A. lays two and a half times as many bricks in a given time as a British bricklayer). It depends in the second instance, (2) on finding an effective substitute for the objective price-fixing of the capitalist free market. This (I suspect) is really (1) in a different form. If men worked reasonably hard on the job, price-fixing would be relatively easy, because labour costs would correspond to a fairly definite output and cost-plus would be a reasonable basis. Commodity prices roughly fixed, the cost of living index would be stable. and the inflationary spiral checked at the beginning. As things are now, the disproportion of money-reward to work done in the different trades is such that—compulsory direction of labour excluded—there is a steady drift

away from the more arduous occupations. We could not have got in this year's harvest if we had not 160,000 German prisoners working on the land; although there is, exceptionally, compulsion of labour on the land.

At present, therefore, the economy of Britain is in a precarious condition, because there is no balanced wage-system, and because the money-reward of labour has no dependable relation to output. If the threat of unemployment is to be removed, what remains as a sanction? Unless democracy can impose a sanction for slacking, its economy *must* run down.

It is, therefore, imperative that there should be a revolution in the Trade Union mentality. Restrictive practices, which were justified as a safeguard against unemployment, cannot be retained in the totally different circumstances of full employment. Full employment requires that the function of the Trade Unions should be radically reconceived. They must be part of the socialist state—the flexible state of social democracy—transmitting the just commands of the state to the workers, and the justified grievances of the workers to the state. Part of the distress of British democracy is caused by the conflict between the more enlightened T.U. officials, who discern the new necessity, and the rank and file, whose attitude towards the socialist state is just the same as it was towards the capitalist boss.

But, suppose that the revolution gradually occurs—that a just wage-pattern is fixed, that the worker is (by this and other means) self-disciplined to do "a fair day's work for a fair day's wage", —what room is there for political democracy of the traditional kind: alternative government and so forth?

It is true that, in such circumstances, profound conflicts of economic and social *principle* could hardly arise. But then in the hey-day of two-party Parliamentarism in the nineteenth century there were no profound conflicts of principle. The analogy cannot be pressed very far, because the common ground would be so different—the nineteenth century agreement on the desirability of the maximum of economic freedom for the individual was congenial to the democratic ethos. The twentieth century agreement on the necessity of the control of that economic freedom by the state is not.

Nevertheless, on consideration, it seems to me that in the new era there will be room for traditional two-party democracy to function positively in the corporate effort to discover, largely by trial and error, the practical *via media* between the regimentation required by economic planning and the personal initiative required for general progress and individual fulfilment in a harmonious society.

I cannot help feeling that we shall " muddle through " even this tremendous crisis and that the forms of democracy will be adjusted to the new reality. The trouble is that, until we *have* muddled through, we have nothing definite or concrete to offer the world. We can point to our socialist government, put into power with an overwhelming majority, " by peaceful and legal means " (as Marx foretold we might do, in Britain). But since that is precisely what the European nations cannot accomplish, it is hardly helpful to them. We can point to a still disinterested and competent civil service, to our still intact habit of legality. These are again precisely the things that the European nations have not got. Yet even we are only at the beginning of the real test. We can offer only a potentiality, not a pattern.

III. THE INTERNATIONAL OBSTACLES TO DEMOCRACY

The potentiality we can offer is a possible synthesis between the embattled powers of Communism and capitalist democracy, at a time when the protagonists (U.S.S.R. and U.S.A.) appear to be drifting into a position in which armed conflict is, humanly speaking, inevitable. Inevitable, in the last analysis, because the leaders of U.S.S.R. appear to have adopted, as a quasi-religious axiom, the belief that it is inevitable, because " the class war " is something elemental and incapable of compromise. It must be waged until there is unconditional surrender.

The only way of discrediting this axiom is to prove that democratic socialism, or socialism by consent, really works. That would be a far easier task than it is if Russia really had an open mind about it. But if, as one is driven to suspect, Russia is interested in preventing such an experiment from succeeding, she can do much to prevent it.

For the success of democratic socialism in Britain depends not merely on the self-discipline of labour at home (which I believe

will ultimately be achieved) but also on the formation of a large economic territory practising interdependence and mutual aid: exchanging goods and services on a pattern agreed between the component states. To make this possible several conditions need to be satisfied, of different orders (*a*) a complete divorce of the process of exchange from the gold-standard, (*b*) a fairly definite system of over-all economic planning, (*c*) an abandonment of national armies in favour of a federal armament, (*d*) a federal authority for the administration of non-self-governing colonial territories, and other things. All of these innovations will be opposed by the various nationalisms; and they will be opposed by Russia.

These considerations do not *directly* affect democratic socialism in Britain; but I find it impossible to conceive democratic socialism developing successfully in Britian alone. She must carry Western Europe and a large part of the Commonwealth with her.

So one is driven on, along this line of inquiry, to the too familiar conclusion: that unless there is established a genuinely supra-national atomic authority, there is little hope of the democratic socialist experiment succeeding in Britain, or anywhere else. The creation of such an authority is held up by one thing alone: the refusal of Russia to submit to it. That stems from the same basic conviction, or superstition, as the Russian opposition to democratic socialism. The conviction is that socialism by consent is impossible: socialism can only be achieved by war *à outrance* between nations and classes. Russia, therefore, dare not submit to a supra-national atomic authority. Unless Russia changes—and changes pretty quickly—there is only one thing to be done: to form an atomic authority without Russia, developing it without her—always with the door left open to her to enter on the authority's terms and not on her own. Thereby, the Russian refusal to act otherwise than as a law unto herself alone will be continually and automatically countered by the building up of a realm of law against her.

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